

SECRET

फाइल संख्या

File No.

खण्ड

Volume

870/11/P/11/95-Pol

भारत सरकार  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय  
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

Political

अनुभाग/प्रभाग

SECTION/DIVISION

टिप्पणियां/पत्राचार

NOTES/CORRESPONDENCE

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keep

105/03/04/15  
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①

Internal / Secret

Shri Ashis Ray has written to Principal Secretary on the subject of Netaji's ashes (flag A). Shri Ray's earlier letters to Principal Secretary on this subject may kindly be seen at flags X and Y along with Principal Secretary's reply at flag Z.

2. The Cabinet had discussed this subject on 7.2.1995 and had deferred taking a decision.

3. It is suggested that after Principal Secretary acknowledges Ashis Ray's letter, we may forward a copy to Home Secretary, to bring to his attention the suggestion that at an appropriate time Dr Lakshmi Sehgal could be approached for assistance in this regard.

4. A draft letter to Ashis Ray is placed below for consideration.

1-2/c

*Sujata Mehta*  
(Sujata Mehta)  
Director  
7.3.95

DTA

*h m i*  
7/3/95

JS(X)

Principal Secretary

*RA 7/3*

*7c*  
*7/3*

*JS (y)*

*8/3*  
*21/5*

*8.3*

*Pol*

PRL. SECY. to PM.  
DY. No. 75415/95  
Date 7/3/95

J.S. (N)'S OFFICE  
DY. No. 616  
DATE

700/0015/95/5  
7/3/95

2

D R A F T

My dear Ashis,

Thank you for your letter of February 21 about Netaji Subhash Bose. The interest you have been taking in this matter is appreciated and your research has been constructive and insightful. I have noted your further suggestions and they shall certainly be kept in mind.

Yours sincerely,

  
(Principal ~~Secretary~~ to PM)

Shri Ashis C Ray

①

# ASHIS C. RAY

①

21 Feb 1995

21/2 < 1/21

21 February, 1995.

Dear Mr Varma,

I heard that the Cabinet recently discussed the matter of Netaji's "ashes". This is most gratifying; and I hope some productive action stems from the meeting.

However, I would like to reiterate that no one member of the Bose family should be made the sole arbiter or spokesman on the issue. As I have pointed out before, there are, unfortunately, serious differences among the Boses over what happened to Subhas Bose. And the rivals must be approached directly and separately by government for the effort to have any chance of succeeding.

Secondly, the best method of persuading the Forward Bloc to agree to the return of the "ashes", may be to initiate this through Dr Lakshmi Sehgal, who can speak to Jyoti Basu, who in turn can influence the Forward Bloc. You may recall how Mr Basu prevailed upon the Forward Bloc on the Teen Bigha matter.

As I have stated before, I seek no publicity in the endeavour. I only want it to succeed. Indeed, even though it would appear that I have played a role in generating government's interest in the subject, I have no objection to anyone jumping in and claiming credit, as long the process is not jeopardised.

I am always available to assist in the task.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

*Asis*

*Draft reply pl*

*Ar*  
*24/2*

P. M. O. (NGO)

Dy. No. 112/5/95

Date 6-3-95

2351/100/95  
14/3  
MR A. N. VARMA

J.S. (N)'S OFFICE

DY. No. 616

DATE 23.2.95.

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CONFIDENTIAL

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27. 2. 95

Dear Mr Varma,

Bhaskar Ghose told me a Mr Sinha was  
dealing with the file at the PMO.

If it isn't Dip Sinha, could it be  
N. K. Sinha?

Best regards,

him  
(ASHIS RAY)

2  
3  
MO-870/11/P/11/95-Pol

March 7, 1995

My dear Ashis,

1/c  
1/4  
Thank you for your letter of February 21 about Netaji Subhash Bose. The interest you have been taking in this matter is appreciated and your research has been constructive and insightful. I have noted your further suggestions and they shall certainly be kept in mind.

Yours sincerely,

  
(A.N. Varma)

Shri Ashis C. Ray,  
F-162, Malcha Marg,  
Chanakyapuri,  
New Delhi-110021.

18/03/95  
S/R

Amiya Nath Bose

M A ( Cantab )

Barrister

Former Member of Parliament,

Former Ambassador.

226/4 A, Netaji Subhas  
Chandra Bose Road,  
Calcutta-700040  
Tel-471-1585  
471-2378

7th August, 1995

PM may perhaps like  
to see this

Dear Sri Narasimha Raoji,

I read in the newspapers here your comments at Kuala Lumpur regarding the 'ashes' now lying at the Renkoji temple in Tokyo.

As the eldest living member of the family, it is my duty to let you know the feelings of the Bose family regarding this matter.

When Col. Habibur Rahman, who accompanied Netaji in the plane from Saigon was released from prison, he visited Mahatma Gandhi in the Bhangi colony in Delhi. I was present in the room when Habibur Rahman spoke to Gandhiji about the alleged air crash at the Taihoku airport on 18 August, 1945. After Habibur Rahman left the place, Gandhiji met a large number of journalists who were waiting at the Bhangi colony to interview Gandhiji. He told them : "Habib is carrying out his leader's orders. I do not believe that Subhas died in any air crash."

When the Domei news agency of Japan announced on 22nd August, 1945 that Subhas Bose died in an air crash, Gandhiji immediately sent a telegram to us forbidding the family to perform any sradh ceremony.

On the 22nd August, 1945, my father, Sarat Chandra Bose, was in detention in Coonoor. He had stopped all interviews with the members of his family after two of my sisters were personally searched by the Police before interview was allowed. My father recorded his anguish in his diary on the 23rd August, 1945.

My father was released from prison in September, 1945. He was warmly welcomed back into the Congress and soon after release he proceeded to Bombay to attend the meeting of the AICC. I was at that time in Bombay, as I was a member of the AICC from Calcutta.

On the 16th August, 1946, Habibur Rahman accompanied by two INA officers, arrived in Calcutta to attend a Conference. Communal riots started in Calcutta on the same day and so the conference had to be abandoned. Habibur Rahman stayed at our Woodburn Park residence from the 16th August for a number of days. He was cross-examined severely by my father, Sarat Chandra Bose. My father was convinced that the story of Netaji's death in an air

...2...

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*Amiya Nath Bose*

M A ( Cantab )

Barrister

Former Member of Parliament,

Former Ambassador.

5

226/4 A, Netaji Subhas  
Chandra Bose Road,  
Calcutta-700040  
Tel-471-1585  
471-2378

: 2 :

crash was not true. In September, 1946, Dr Radha Binod Pal, who was then a member of the War Crimes Tribunal in Tokyo, visited father at our Woodburn Park residence. He informed my father in my presence that the American Judge of the Tribunal had shown him the report of the American Intelligence Party, which visited Taihoku airport in September, 1945. I may state here that the Intelligence Party from Gen McArthur's Head Quarters was the first Intelligence Party to have visited Taihoku airport. The American Intelligence Party came to a definite finding that there was no air crash in August, 1945 and that Netaji safely arrived in Manchuria in August, 1945. The American Intelligence Party discovered that the photographs of the damaged plane that were shown to them were, in fact, photographs of an American bomber which crashed at Taihoku in 1944.

I was invited by the Japanese Government to attend the anti-Atomic Bomb Conference on behalf of India, which was held at Kyoto in September, 1957. The Conference was presided over by Prince Higashikuni, the cousin of Emperor Hirohito. I might add here that Prince Higashikuni and Mr Mamoru Shigemitsu, then the Foreign Minister of Japan, were the two persons who signed the Instrument of Surrender on behalf of Japan. I came to know Prince Higashikuni well during my stay in Japan and he told me that there was in fact no effective Japanese Government from the 15th August, 1945 when Japan surrendered. He also stated that no reliable Japanese documentary evidence was available regarding the alleged air crash at Taihoku.

The priest of the Renkoji Temple came to see me at my hotel in Tokyo. He informed me that a casket was handed over to him by the INA cadets, who were being given military training in Tokyo, alleged to contain the "ashes" of Netaji. He told me further that he had never opened the casket and he was not able to tell me whether it contained anything. As a barrister, I have had opportunity of appearing in a number of criminal cases, both in England as well as in India. I am acquainted with the broad features of forensic science. I have appeared in a number of cases with Sir Norman Birkett. It is not possible to ascertain if, in fact, the casket contains "ashes", if they are the ashes of any human being.

...3...

*Amiya Nath Bose*

M A ( Cantab )

Barrister

Former Member of Parliament,

Former Ambassador.

226/4 A, Netaji Subhas  
Chandra Bose Road,  
Calcutta-700040  
Tel-471-1585  
471-2378

(b)

: 3 :

It is the considered view of the Bose family that it will be an act of sacrilege to foist the Renkoji ashes on the Indian people, when they are definitely not the "ashes" of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

I have in my possession, conclusive documentary evidence that Subhas Chandra Bose was alive and was in the Soviet Union on 22nd July, 1946. I have no knowledge as to what happened to him after July 1946, but one thing is certain that the "ashes" kept at the Renkoji Temple are not the "ashes" of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. My letter has already become too long. I have many other facts in my possession, which I can place before you, if I ever have an opportunity of meeting you personally.

Kindly accept my kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

*Amiya Nath Bose*

AMIYA NATH BOSE

Sri. P. V. Narasimha Rao,  
Hon'ble Prime Minister of India  
3 Race Course Road,  
New Delhi - 110 011



प्रधान मंत्री  
PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
August 23, 1995

Dear Shri Bose,

I have your letter dated 7th August, 1995. I have taken note of the contents of your letter.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

(P.V. Narasimha Rao)

Shri Amiya Nath Bose  
226/4 A, Netaji Subhash  
Chandra Bose Road  
Calcutta-700040.

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This can be kept  
in Pol Section.

OSD(CAT) to

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MSD(S) &

Pol. Section

5  
ASHIS C. RAY

8  
New Delhi  
6 September, 1995.

Dear Mr Varma,

Enclosed herewith a copy of a letter faxed to the Prime Minister for your kind information.

I would like to emphasise that the DNA test will resolve the 50 year dispute once and for all.

Best regards,

Whin

Shri A. N. Varma  
Principal Secretary to  
the Prime Minister  
PMO  
South Block  
New Delhi.

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JS (P)

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dir (A)  
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MLG

PRL, SECY. to PM.  
DY. No. 953/P/95  
Date 12/9

JS (N)'S OFFICE  
Dy No 3476  
DATE 12.9.95

ASHIS C. RAY

9

F-162 Malcha Marg  
New Delhi - 110021.

5 September, 1995.

Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao  
Prime Minister of India  
7 Race Course Road  
New Delhi.

*Dear Prime Minister,*

I realise you are receiving conflicting signals on the issue of Netaji's remains. And I do not wish to be a part of a pressure group one way or the other.

All I wish to submit is that my continuing research on the subject convinces me that the best way forward is to do a DNA test, which may provide conclusive and incontrovertible scientific evidence as to whether the ashes at Renkoji temple are Netaji's or not. I have spoken to an expert on the subject; and he has no doubt that irrevocable proof can be obtained.

May I propose that an international team of experts, one of whom can be from our DNA centre at Hyderabad, is entrusted with the job, with a set of observers drawn from the Bose family, Forward Bloc and such like.

You have doubtless noticed that last week a team of DNA experts established that remains regarding which there were doubts do indeed belong to Czar Nicholas. All we need is a blood sample from a relative and bone particles from the ashes or a tooth (which is likely to exist in the urn on the basis of a claim made by Netaji's ADC, Colonel Habibur Rahman) to carry out the test.

A direction from you on the matter can set the ball rolling.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

*Ashi*

PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
FORMER  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



(6)

8/2 CENTRAL PARK  
CALCUTTA 700032

8th Sept 1995

(10)

Dear Prime Minister,

I know you have no time to go through an article. But I would still request you to kindly read this article about 'Netaji Mystery'.

It is our moral, spiritual and patriotic duty to finalise the question of what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose the Maha Kshatriya of the struggle of liberation of our Motherland.

May God bless you to maintain your health for serving our country.

With best regards and namaskar,

Yours sincerely,

*Samar Guha*

Shri P.V.Narasimha Rao  
Prime Minister of India  
New Delhi

( SAMAR GUHA )

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# NETAJI MYSTERY

## Case For Fresh Inquiry

By SAMAR GUHA

THE Prime Minister's recent statement at Kuala Lumpur on the question of Netaji's death and the identity of the ashes, kept in the Renkoji temple in Tokyo since September 1945, has revived the controversy. He should provide definite proof of Netaji's death in the alleged air crash in Taihoku (Taipei) on August 18, 1945, and of the ashes as being those of Netaji?

A few months before his death Nehru admitted: "There is no precise and direct proof of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death". Only 20 days before his death he reiterated that "... something should be done to finalize the question of (Netaji's) death". Has any Government at the Centre made any sincere effort to do that "something"?

Immediately after the dubious Tokyo broadcast on August 23, 1945, announcing Netaji's death, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in a joint telegram, asked the Bose family not to "perform the Sadh ceremony". Maulana Azad, then Congress president, refused to pass any obituary resolution at the AICC session in Bombay.

### AUTHENTICITY

On September 11, 1945, Nehru told A.P.J. Abanindranath: "I disbelieve the authenticity of the news about Bose's death". As for the Mahatma, even after meeting Habibur Rahman many times, he said: "Netaji is alive, he is hiding somewhere."

Within a month after the surrender of Japan, General MacArthur, U.S. Chief of the Pacific Army, Earl Mountbatten, then in "Command of the S. E. Asian Allied Forces" and the U.K. Counter-Intelligence (CSDIC), conducted three separate inquiries to ascertain whether Bose really died in the alleged air crash or cooked up a story to cover his escape. A month later, the Mayor of Taipei, under the direction of the Chiang Kai Shek Government of Taiwan, held another independent investigation. The findings of all inquiries were submitted to their respective Governments before the end of 1945. But none of the reports has so far been published. Nor has the Indian Government ask for them at any time. The papers have been kept as "Classified Documents" in the archives.

Nehru very enthusiastically supported the cause of the INA in the trial of its officers at the Red Fort till January 1946. But, after a meeting with Mountbatten in Singapore in February, he observed total silence. On taking charge as Prime Minister, he turned down all appeals for another inquiry till citizens of Calcutta led by the eminent historian, Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, set up a non-official Netaji Inquiry Committee in 1956 with Radha Binode Pal, the Indian judge of the Tokyo War Criminals Trial, as its chairman. Nehru then announced the formation of Shah Nawaz Inquiry Committee. This way he scuttled Majumdar's and Pal's initiative.

The Shah Nawaz Committee was not given the necessary judicial powers to function freely. When it reached Tokyo, the former Japanese Foreign

Minister, Sigematsu, arranged for it to visit Taipei for an on-the-spot inquiry. But Nehru refused permission for the visit. He told Parliament: "The question of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death is settled beyond doubt". Thus the entire purpose of setting up the inquiry was defeated.

After 26 years, a memorandum drafted by Majumdar and signed by nearly 400 members

*SINCE most vital questions remain unanswered, a committee of three former Supreme Court judges should be appointed to go into them, writes, the author, a former M.P.*

of Parliament, was submitted to the then minority Government of Indira Gandhi. As a result, a single-member judicial commission headed by Justice Khosla, was instituted in 1970.

But the Khosla Commission turned into a mockery. Besides irregularities in its treatment of records, documents and witnesses, it denigrated Netaji in its final report, calling him, at least in 27 places, a "stooge", "puppet" and "quisling" in whose safety Japan showed no particular interest after its surrender. Justice Khosla had to apologize before a Calcutta Court and withdraw all his remarks unconditionally. He also flagrantly violated ethical norms by writing a biography of Indira Gandhi and meeting her several times while his investigation continued. He brought a "gift" for her from Taipei and published a book on the inquiry before his report was placed in Parliament. For all these lapses he was censured by Parliament. In Taipei, Justice Khosla refused to accept the secret report of the mayoral inquiry, which the Taiwan Government was willing to submit to the commission.

In 1978, the Morarji Desai Government rejected the reports of both the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission, reopening the case. While the modus operandi of a fresh investigation was being discussed, the Government fell.

### UNRESPONSIVE

President R. Venkataraman asked first Mr V. P. Singh and then Mr Chandra Shekhar, to take up the matter. The External Affairs Minister in Mr Chandra Shekhar's Government on March 26, 1991, ordered "a high-level Investigative Inquiry into the question of disappearance of Netaji". After the fall of these two Governments, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao also was requested twice by Mr Venkataraman to settle the question convincingly. But Mr Narasimha Rao remains wholly unresponsive.

In 1956, the Japanese Foreign office submitted a "death certificate" to the Shah Nawaz Committee. It was in the name of a Japanese non-regular officer, Ichiro Okura, issued by the Taihoku Municipal Office in 1945. Neither did the age, date of birth, address and cause of death support the identification with Netaji. Yet the Japanese Asian Bureau claimed that "since the death of Mr Subhas Chandra Bose was kept strictly

confidential at that time, it is believed that this cremation permit on Ichiro Okura must correspond to the case of the late Subhas Chandra Bose". But the Japanese Government never made any effort to keep the news of the alleged death "confidential" in any way. Even Justice Khosla was not convinced. Neither did any investigating agency of the Allied powers believe in Habibur Rahman's story of Netaji's death.

Since the most vital questions remain unanswered, a committee of three retired Supreme Court judges should be appointed:

(1) Search for Nehru's "secret" file, stated to be "Missing or Destroyed". It contained nearly 44 confidential documents. After Nehru's death it was maintained by Mohammed Yunus, as was disclosed before the Khosla Commission, which, however, did not examine him. (2) Urge the Governments of the USA, Britain and Taiwan to publish the reports of all the inquiries, and to send copies to the Indian Government.

### REPORT

(3) Examine the "Top Secret" report of the Home Department sent to the British Prime Minister in 1945, which has been published in Volume VI of Transfer of Power 1942-47, and in which the Wavell Government in New Delhi discussed measures to try "Bose" after his arrest and their final recommendation, and Mountbatten's letter to N. G. Goray, then Indian High Commissioner in London, in mid-1978 that "... there was no official record of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose's death in his archives".

(4) Review all important documents and testimonies of the INA personnel and Japanese officials submitted to the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission.

(5) Review statements of Habibur Rahman: made before the Allied intelligence agencies; kept with the casket containing the ashes of Netaji; before the Shah Nawaz Committee; and to Bhulabhai Desai while showing him a wrist-watch that Netaji was alleged to be wearing at the time of the purported crash.

(6) Ask the Indian Government to collect from the Russian Government documents and relevant papers and reports on Netaji seeking asylum in the erstwhile Soviet Union in 1945.

(7) Review a hand written letter from Khurshid Nawroji, one of Gandhi's most trusted disciples, to Louis Fischer, who was known to liaise informally between the Mahatma Gandhi and Roosevelt. This letter suggests that Gandhi was convinced of Netaji's presence in the Soviet Union in 1946, was found in the Princeton University library in 1989.

A research team of the Asiatic Society is now in Russia looking for authentic information on whether Netaji took refuge in Russia after the fall of Japan. It claims to have secured a copy of a Moscow paper, Echo Planety, in which a scholar named Vinogradov wrote an article in 1992 asserting that Bose was living in the town of Omsk.

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**PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE**  
(RESEARCH & REFERENCE SECTION)

Name and Place of publication *The Pioneer, New Delhi* 14 SEP 1995 Date:

## *Papers relating to Netaji in KGB archives?*

PTI

Calcutta

SEVERAL DOCUMENTS relating to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and his mysterious disappearance are still lying in the inaccessible archives of the disbanded KGB and in the official archives of the Russian president in Kremlin.

Special permission of the Russian Government is required to scrutinise them and it is believed that examination of these documents may eventually unravel the mystery behind Netaji's disappearance at the end of the World War II, according to three scholars of the Asiatic Society who recently visited some of the 10 archives in Moscow under an

Indo-Russian cultural agreement.

Dr Purabi Roy (Jadavpur University), Dr Hari Vasudevan and Dr Sobhanlal Dutta Gupta (both of Calcutta University) visited Moscow as scholars of the Asiatic Society, as part of the cultural agreement signed between the Asiatic Society and the Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, to compile accessible materials pertaining to the Indo-Russian relations during 1917 and 1947.

They told newsmen here that they faced "utmost" difficulty in studying the available documents in the archives.

Since the available documents relating to Indian history were mostly in "disarray," the archives in the KGB office and in the President's archive in Kremlin are expected to reveal the hitherto unknown facts about

Netaji, they felt.

Asiatic Society general secretary Chandan Roychowdhury said the Prime Minister would be moved to request the Russian President to allow Indian scholars to have access to his archive in the Kremlin and also in the KGB in Moscow for collecting more information about Indian leaders.

The scholars, who spent about \$ 6,000 dollars to get access to the archives in Moscow, said that in most cases, they were not allowed to study the required files and documents. The problems were further accentuated due to 'restriction' imposed by a section of officials of the Indian embassy in Moscow, they alleged.

On the revealing facts about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, they said that documents at the archives of the External Affairs

Ministry of the Russian federation indicated that Russian agent V G Sayadyant, who was allowed to function in India by the British Government, carried a letter from Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru in August, 1946 to Moscow on way to Teheran "which had a mention about Netaji being alive".

Moreover, the scholars quoted an article of V Turadzev, a sub-editor of *Asia and Africa Today*, found among the archival materials, to say that the Russian agent sought to convey the message to Moscow in September, 1946, that the Soviets might have to contact "Forward Bloc as one of the major political parties in India and its leader Subhas Chandra Bose". These references pointed to Netaji being alive even in 1946, the scholars said.

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(8)

**NETAJI SUBHAS CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS  
COMMITTEE (MAHARASHTRA)  
(1897-1997)**



(13)

**CHIEF PATRON**  
**MR. RATILAL SHETH**

**PATRONS**

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**MR. RATUBHAI DESAI**  
**MR. MANIBHAI DOSHI**  
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**VICE-CHAIRMEN**

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**MR. NIRANJAN HALDAR**  
**MR. MRINAL DUTTA**  
**MR. DIBYENDU GUHA**  
**MR. MANABENDRA SINGH GOHIL**

**CONVENER**

**MR. SHALIL GHOSH**

9-9-95

FOR THE KIND ATTENTION OF  
SRI NARASIMHA RAO,  
TO THE ATTACHED HISTORICAL DOCUMENT,

'PRANAM'

Shalil Ghosh  
Convener

THIS IS THE ORIGINAL ENGLISH VERSION OF TAGORE WRITTEN IN JAN 1939. STILL NOT PUBLISHED ANYWHERE. THIS IS NOT A TRANSLATION OF THE BENGALI SPEECH AT AMRA-KUNJA ON 21.1.1939. LATER INCLUDED IN HIS BENGALI BOOK OF ESSAYS 'KALANTAR' (8th Ed. 1993) WITH TITLE 'DESHANAYAK'.

13-8-95

THE SUNDAY OBSERVER

CLOSE-UP

Exclusive Word Search

5

# 'I welcome you to be the leader of this country'

On January 11, 1939, Shantiniketan played host to a function wherein Subhas Chandra Bose was felicitated, lauded in a stirring speech by Rabindranath Tagore and given the title Desha Nayak. Tagore, further, informed Bose that on February 4, his drama Chandalika was to be staged at Calcutta and that he planned a public felicitations for Bose on that occasion.

On January 27, Tagore addressed a message to Bose — this one informing the latter that while Chandalika would be performed on schedule, Tagore himself was cancelling his proposed Calcutta trip on grounds of ill health and that, therefore, the planned felicitations would also not take place.

Interestingly, Tagore did attend the first performance of his play. Only the planned felicitations did not materialise.

Why the volte face?

Why was it that Tagore's speech, arguably one of his best, ever was kept out of circulation until after his death?

Flashback: Bose had, shortly before the events related above, defeated Pattabhi Sircar in an election for the post of president of the Indian National Congress for the year 1939-1940. And Sircar had been hand-picked to oppose Bose, then bidding for his second term in office, by no less than Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.

Thus, Bose's victory was seen as Gandhi's defeat. Bose was soon expelled from the Congress for anti-party activities.

To put matters in perspective, we refer then to a visit made by Sudhir Ghosh, a well-known emissary of Gandhi, to Shantiniketan. Also to a visit paid by Jawaharlal Nehru to the same venue, on January 28, 1939.

Some historians believe that neither Gandhi nor Nehru were comfortable with the thought that someone of Tagore's stature was hailing Bose as Desha Nayak. And that Tagore, who was informed through emissaries about the Nehru-Gandhi mindset, finally succumbed to the pressure and called off the felicitations.

S. Bengal's poet I invite you on Bengal's behalf to accept of our leadership of our country. God the Preserver, says the Gita, incarnates Himself whenever need arises to protect the meek and chastise the wicked. Enmeshed in the evils of misfortune, out of the very throes of the body politic is the leader born. Trodden down under the heel of foreign domination, her energies dissipated by internal divisions, Bengal's destiny is today darkened by ever deepening clouds.

Divided against ourselves we are weak at home while the adverse forces mobilise outside Bengal's frontiers. Our economy, our method of work, our moral tone are woefully inadequate. Our politics is like a boat in which the oars do not keep time with the helm. When the mind is ridden by an evil fate it acts like a virus in a worn-out body. That is how we become divided against ourselves. We throw out our well-wishers, make strangers of friends, insult those who are worthy of respect, and in this way weaken our own ranks from the rear.

Just at the moment when it devolves upon each one of us to

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

raise by dint of our own worth the lofty pinnacle of our national glory and place it high before the eyes of the whole world, some malicious self-seekers there are, who in their suicidal stupidity dig holes of calumny into the very foundation of the structure. Maligning one another, they serve only to strengthen the insolence of the enemy.

When there is a wound from outside, the festering sore remains outside the body and precipitates a septic wound out by this conspiracy of between the forces of disease inside and outside the body, our mind becomes inert and cannot fully exert itself for its immunity. At such times of crisis what we need most is of self-protecting right arm of self-reliant strong men, who can, with impunity, override the obstacle of an adverse fate that may lie on the road of our triumphant march.

Subhaschandra, I have watched you from afar when you first began — your penance for the country. In that dawn of your sudhana, in the uncertain twilight, I was assailed by misgivings about you. I have felt hesitant to place my full faith in you. Your blunders, your weaknesses have caused me pain. Today you are revealed in the clear light of the midday sun — there is no room for doubt to darken the sky. In your lifetime you have absorbed many an experience. Your adherence to duty is a positive proof of your vitality and strength. Incarceration, banishment, incurable disease — all these have sorely tested this strength. They were powerless to overcome you. Rather have they

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

Unite me must if the nation is to survive. It is up to you to rouse the determination, throughout the length and breadth of the country, that Bengal will not die humiliated by fate, that Bengal will raise its proud head above the buffeting of misfortune. You are the spirit of tireless youth, you have in your nature that unflinching courage which can uphold hope in the face of an impending crisis. In the faith that you will implant in the soul of Bengal that banner of death-triumphing hope, that flag of fearless freedom, I welcome you to be the leader of the country.

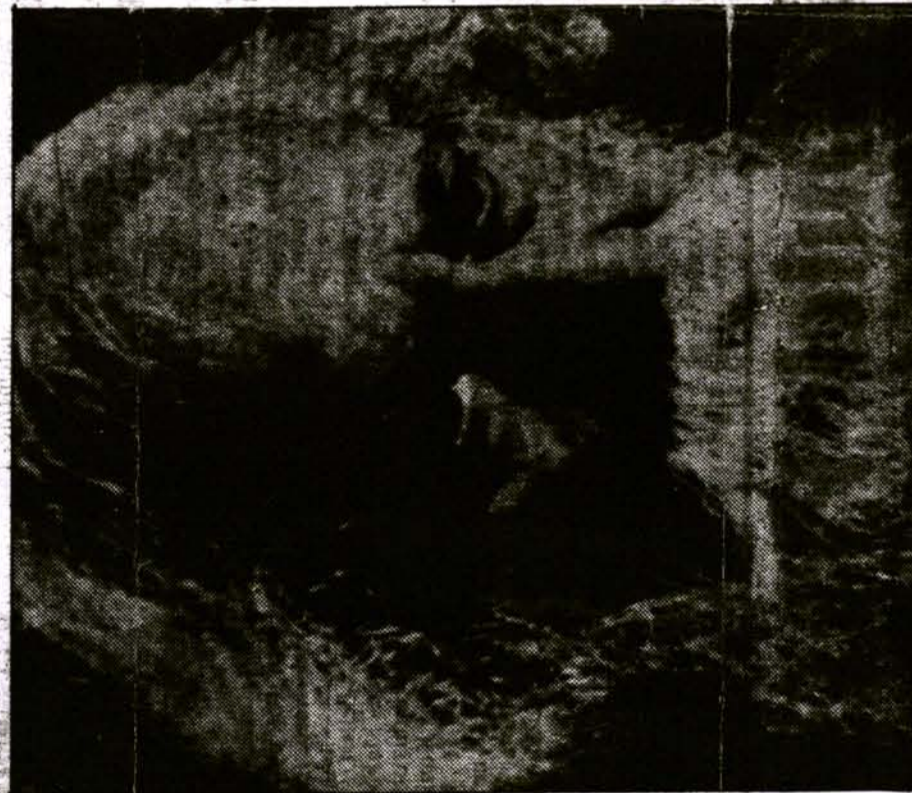
Let Bengal's millions speak in one voice in firm and clear accents that the seat of leadership is ready for you. May you resolve the spirit of mutual mistrust in the Bengalee, may his example put meanness and negligence to shame. Let Bengal, through upholding conduct to ignominy and defeat, uphold and maintain the prestige of her accredited leader.

The Bengalee is a logician born. He delights in harping arguments. Right from the commencement of a project to its very end, he finds a peculiar pleasure in sitting in opposition and refuting the other man's viewpoint in the pride of his sterile intellect. He is more interested in picking holes and finding faults than in taking a comprehensive view of things. He forgets that they are the unproven arguments of an idle mind. The need of the day is not arguments but a spontaneous will to do things. Let the composite will of the nation that

appoints you to be the leader, mould you to the great responsibility that devolves upon such leadership. May the whole nation find its self-expression in your person.

I have seen during the Bengal partition movement how that will expressed itself in its resistance to ward off the impending blow of the scimitar which sought to sever the body politic of Bengal. Bengal rose like one man against the mighty power of the Crown. Her people did not then sit idle and deliberate in the fashion of wiseacres as to whether it was possible to oppose and defeat (circumvent) the design of the foreign power. What she did then was to will with all her heart.

In the years that followed I have seen that very desire burning strong and bright in the heart of the younger generation. They were born with the fire. But alas! the fire that should have lit the lamps and given us light was the fire used to burn and destroy. They paid dearly for the mistake. They themselves were consumed by the flames and after the conflagration was over, there remained no light to guide the benighted. But misguided though it was, the heroism that they showed even in the tragic futility of their blunder, was something of which I did not see anywhere in India at the time. The series of sacrifices that they made, the way they braved misfortunes one after another, the precious lives that they lay down at the altar of the country — these have all been burnt into the ashes of futility. But they have, nevertheless, made your country's sorrows your own and that the deliverance of the country comes apace carrying along with it your ultimate reward and recognition.



Fifty-six years ago, RABINDRANATH TAGORE hailed Subhas Chandra Bose, who was expelled as president of the Congress party, as Desha Nayak. That speech has never received its due in history, probably after Gurudev was persuaded to move away from Netaji by the Gandhi-Nehru combine. To mark the 48th anniversary of Independence, we publish that revealing speech, retrieved from the Tagore archives by SHALIL GHOSH

EXCLUSIVE!

The agents of law and order might well try to darken these chapters of history punctuated by the heart-rending blunders of the restless youth. But, try as they may, they can never black out the radiance inherent in the spirit of youth.

True, we have seen many signs of weakness of our country. Our hope lies deep in the recesses of her being where her sources of secret strength await the future hour. It is up to you to see that this hope materialises and comes to fruition. All that is best in Bengalee character — his pleasant and affectionate nature, his imagination, his penetrating vision, his talent in creative arts, the power he has of absorbing the gifts of an alien culture — all these should no longer be allowed to remain abstractions, but should be harnessed for actual work. It is for you to create a new springtime of sprouting hopes. You are to deliver the country from all that is worn out and old, all that is steeped in darkness.

You may say that the work of such magnitude is not for one man to undertake single-handed. That is true. It is also a fact that this work cannot be done by men working in separate units. Nothing will be impossible to achieve if the whole country could come together drawn by the centripetal force of a towering personality. Those who are real and natural leaders of the country, never stand by themselves. They belong to all men of all times. They stand on the crest of the present and are the very first to bow, in obedience to the first purple rays that usher the dawning future. Keeping that in mind I invite you and through you the whole nation to give a lead to the country.

Let no one misapprehend that in my provincial pride I want to separate Bengal from the rest of India or that I want to place anybody on a seat of rivalry with that Mahatma who has brought in a new age in the realm of politics and has thus made India's name famous in the comity of nations. My appeal is to Bengal fully and substantially to co-operate with India and because I want this valuable co-operation to bear real fruit, I do not wish that a powerless and weak Bengal should lag behind empty-handed while the other provinces bring their own offerings to the Motherland. Through your sudhana let Bengal's self-dedication be true and noble, let her lamps of offering shine with her own true light.

Many years ago while addressing another meeting I had the occasion to convey my message of welcome to the leader of Bengal, yet to be. After so many years I take the occasion to welcome him in the very person. I am no longer capable, nor do I have the strength necessary to co-operate, body and soul, with the leader in doing actual field work. As one of the very last duties left to me I may only invoke the will of the country and may pray that that will might actuate and strengthen your will. And then I shall bless you and take your leave to go, knowing full well that you have made your country's sorrows your own and that the deliverance of the country comes apace carrying along with it your ultimate reward and recognition.

RABI RAY  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



4, Janpath, New Delhi-11  
Tel. 3018264  
Dt. 19.9.95

Dear Shri Narasimha Raoji,

You must have read a news-report that has appeared in "The Hindustan Times." dated Sept. 18th 1995 that the Japanese veterans of World war-II now want to be relieved of duty they have so selflessly performed for fifty years since the reported death in an aircrash of Netaji Subash Ch. Bose on August 18, 1945. Placed in an urn at Renkoji near Tokyo, the ashes of Netaji have been in the custody and care of the soldiers of yore. Some among them were 28, when they first met Netaji Bose. They are now 82. It is in view of their advancing years that they have formally sought the return of the relics to India.

I am told that their request was conveyed on the External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukharjee during his recent visit to Japan. He also visited the said temple ( Renkoji temple near Tokyo ) along with the Foreign Secy. and India's amassador to Japan.

He assured them that the return of the relic of the ashes of Netaji Bose was under deep consideration of the Govt. of India. You are aware that the 100th Birth day of Netaji which fall on Jan. 23 next year marking the start of his centenary. It would be in the fit-ness of things that the remains are <sup>brought</sup> ~~taken~~ to India and properly kept in a monument. I urge you to take urgent steps in this matter so that the return of the relic of the holy ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose to India becomes a reality that would continue to inspire generation after generation of India by what he did for the freedom of our Country and the liberation of humanity.

With regards,

Sincerely yours,

*Rabi Ray*  
( RABI RAY )

Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao,

Hon'ble Prime Minister of India,  
New Delhi.

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प्रधान मंत्री  
PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
September 27, 1995

Dear Shri Ray,

Thank you for your letter of September 19, 1995  
in connection with a news report about the ashes of Netaji  
Subhash Chandra Bose.

I have noted your views.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

*P.V. Narasimha Rao*  
(P.V. Narasimha Rao)

Shri Rabi Ray, MP  
4, Janpath  
New Delhi

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P.M.'s Office  
Diary No 69324  
To be monitored

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*18/1*

**D. N. Sinha**

**President:**

National Council of OISCA in India  
All India Qaumi Ekta Committee

**Vice-President:**

OISCA International, Tokyo  
All India Freedom Fighters Organisation

Fax : 011-3343421 Telex : 31-63045

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Res. : 6910923

5/125, Jeevan Tara Building,  
Parliament Street,  
New Delhi - 110 001

October 30, 1995

Dear Respected Prime Minister,

I beg to refer you to our earlier representations regarding giving a new life to the Congress Party under your dynamic Leadership.

In one of the points, We proposed that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose's sacred ashes kept at the Renokaji Temple in Tokyo now for 45 years be brought to India and taken round the Country to enable the people of India to pay their homage and then kept in a memorial to be built at the Freedom Fighters' Colony on Prof. N.G. Ranga Marg, New Delhi-110 068.

We, the Freedom Fighters, now express our gratitudes to you to allow the Foreign Minister Sri Pranab Mukherjee to confirm that the sacred ashes of Netaji kept in a gold casket, as we saw recently at Renokaji Temple in Tokyo, would be brought to India after 45 years from Tokyo. This would also please the Japanese who preserved them for us so respectfully now for over 4 decades.

It should fetch you additionally 10 to 20% Votes in the Lok Sabha election and the party's success could be assured.

The Freedom Fighters of India in Delhi under the Leadership of Desh Ratna Sheelbhadra Yajee and Ch. Ranbir Singh seek an opportunity for an audience before you to personally thank you for your decision. When do you think it could be possible?

These sacred ashes be brought with great honour and taken round the Country for peoples, Darshan and Preserved in a Memorial in the Freedom Fighters' Colony on Prof. N.G. Ranga Marg at New Delhi-68.

OISCA International in Tokyo were prepared to assist us if the sacred ashes were to be brought by us instead of the Government of India. President Dr Yoshiko Y. Nakano of OISCA is prepared to offer any assistance that may be required in this respect in Japan.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

D.N. SINHA

Hon'ble Sri P.V. Narasimha Rao,  
Prime Minister of India,  
NEW DELHI.

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अखिल भारतीय स्वतन्त्रता सेनानी संगठन

3323967

# ALL INDIA FREEDOM FIGHTERS ORGANISATION

7, Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi-110001

Ref. No. AIFFO.....

Dated... October 30th 1995

## MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDUM

Sh. Sheel Bhadra Yajee, Ex. M.P. Wkg. President  
Dr. Radha Nath Rath, former Minister Orissa  
Shri Manmathnath Gupta, Delhi  
Shri Ranbir Singh, Ex. M.P., Haryana  
Col. G.S. Dhillon, I.N.A. Madhya Pradesh  
Shri Tulsidas Jadhav, Ex. M.P. Maharashtra  
Comrade M. Farooqui, Delhi  
Prof. Mahesh Datt Mishra, Ex. M.P.,  
Madhya Pradesh  
Col. Laxmi Sehgal, I.N.A., Uttar Pradesh  
Dr. Sisir Kumar Bose, Ex. M.L.A.,  
West Bengal  
Shri Ram Lakahn Singh Yadav, Union  
Minister Bihar  
Smt. Prabhawati Azad, Punjab

## VICE PRESIDENTS

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Shri B. D. Kalmankar, Chairman, Karnataka  
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Shri D.N. Sinha, U.P.  
Giani Harnam Shah Singh, Delhi  
Shri Katam Lakshmi Narayan, Andhra Pradesh  
Shri Manu Bhai Patel, Ex. M.P., Gujrat  
Smt. Savitri Ram Kishan, Delhi  
Shri S. Gopal Shastri, Bihar  
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Shri Daljeet Sen Adel, Delhi  
Com. Chain Singh Chain, Punjab  
Smt. Som Kumari Sabharwal, Delhi  
OFFICE SECY.

## PRESS STATEMENT

### BRING NETAJI'S ASHES FROM RENOKAJI TEMPLE TOKYO

Shri Sheel Bhadra Yajee, Ex-MP., President and Sri D. N. Sinha, Vice President of the All India Freedom Fighter's Organisation have issued the following joint press Statement appreciating the acceptance of their long pending appeal to the Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao.

Shri Sheel Bhadra Yajee confirmed that we are very glad to learn that the Government of India through its External Affairs Minister Pranab Kumar Mukherjee have atlast accepted the request of the Freedom Fighters of India to bring the sacred ashes of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Renokaji Temple in Tokyo during Netaji Celebration in 1996. The Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao deserves the gratitudes of the people of India for this historic decision.

An OISCA delegation headed by Shri D.N. Sinha recently visited Tokyo and talked to Mr. Shimoda of Netaji Memorial Society in Tokyo who proposed that the ashes of Netaji be taken to India so that the people of India even after 45 years could offer floral tributes to Netaji's ashes and they be preserved in a Memorial to be built in the Freedom Fighters' Colony situated on Prof.N.G. Ranga Marg in New Delhi - 68.

The Former Forward Bloc Ex-MP. Shri Amiya Nath Bose and many former Leaders of India including Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Srimati Indira Gandhi, Shri Sheel Bhadra Yajee had already visited in the past the Renokaji Temple to pay their respectful homage to the Ashes of Netaji,

Incidentally Shri Yajee who went underground in December 1943 and escaped through a Japanese submarine from Chilka Lake on Orissa Coast to Singapur via Andamans to meet Netaji in Singapur to work out the future plans for Quit India Movement. He is confident that Netaji did die in the air crash in Taiwan on 18 August 1945 and his ashes are preserved in a Gold Casket since then by the trustees of Renokaji temple in Tokyo and be now brought to India. The Japanese Government would be happy to hand over the scared ashes as Netaji was an Indian Leader.

Cont...

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Comrade J. S. Anand, Ex. M.P., Punjab  
Shri Dhiren Bhowmik, West Bengal  
Shri Ratan Lal Joshi, Maharashtra  
Shri Binoy Sarkar, Assam  
Sardar Rampilla Suryanarayan, Andhra Pradesh  
Shri Daljeet Sen Adel, Delhi  
Com. Chain Singh Chain, Punjab  
Smt. Som Kumari Sabharwal, Delhi  
OFFICE SECY.

:2:

Sri Sinha brushed aside the charges of certain vested interests in India that they were not Netaji's ashes and Netaji may still be alive. Some also allege that he died in Russia. These presumptions should be corrected.

Shri D.N. Sinha moved a resolution at the AIFFO meet in Raipur in September 95 that the Prime Minister of India to make befitting arrangements to bring Netaji's ashes to India, else he would of his own arrange to bring them and preseve them in a memorial to be built for him. Recently in a meeting of about 6000 Delegates of All India Freedom Fighters at the Talkatora Stadium in New Delhi in presence of the Home Minister Sri S.B. Chavan, the Working President of AIFFSO Sri B. S. Hooda M.P. moved a resolution to bring the ashes of Netaji from Renokaji Temple to India so that the people of India who waited now for about 45 years could pay their homage to the ashes of Netaji. This would be a great contribution by Prime Minister Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao if he could arrange to bring them to India and build a suitable memorial.

For the last 45 years the Freedom Fighters Of India are trying to persuade all the Former Prime Ministers and External Affairs to bring the sacred ashes of Netaji from Tokyo but they were not ready. Now we appreciate very much the decision of the present Union Government led by Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao on their decision to bring the sacred ashes of Netaji to perpetuate his sacred mamory. This decision will be widely accepted by the people of India from all corners and particularly by the Freedom Fighters of India.

(S.INDERJIT SINGH BHATIA)  
General Secretary

Pol. section

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Our files No. 870/11/P/11/95-Pol and  
870/11/P/10/93-Pol are placed below.  
NGO section may kindly link their  
file and put up to ISS (M) pl.

R  
11/9/95

NGO

Sharma  
11/9/95

NGO Section

SDS  
R  
11/9

Our file No. G-16(3)/95-NGO, G-4(2)/95-NGO  
and G-12(18)/94-NGO are placed below.

PM  
11.9.95

R  
11/9

JS (M) Necessary action has been taken.  
NGO files are detached and kept in NGO  
section.

PM  
12/9/95

R  
12/9

pmo (ngo) / 4/2/5/95 SO (POL) ||